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CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE GROUP

INTELLIGENCE REPORT

COUNTRY Spain

SUBJECT Bases for Uniting the ANFD of Catalonia and the
Consell Nacional de la Democracia Catalana

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SUPPLEMENT

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1. Attached is a translation of a document entitled Bases for the Uniting of the Alianza Nacional de Fuerzas Democraticas of Catalonia and the Consell Nacional de la Democracia Catalana, which is dated 28 March 1947 and which was ~~originally~~ that as of early April the Bases had not been published clandestinely in Barcelona and had not been sent to the Catalans in France.

2. ~~the following~~ the following resume of the evolutionary steps leading to the establishment of the Consell, mentioning also the setting up of the ANFD of Catalonia.

First Step: Comite d'Enllac dels Partits Republicans (Liaison Committee of the Republican Parties)

The Comite d'Enllac dels Partits Republicans was formed in 1944 and was composed of the Accio Catalana, the Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya and the Unio Democratica. Since the delegation of the Esquerra was not entirely satisfactory to Josep Tarradellas, Secretary General of the Esquerra in France, Tarradellas' envoy Serrallonga made a trip to Catalonia to remedy the situation. There he sought the collaboration of Marquet and of other elements who he thought could be easily managed to form the Alianca de Partits Republicans.

Second Step: Alianca de Partits Republicans (Alliance of Republican Parties)

This organization comprised the components of the Comite d'Enllac, plus the Estat Catala and the Unio de Rabassaires. The entry of the Estat Catala was promoted by Serrallonga with the object of creating an atmosphere unfavorable to the Front Nacional, a new organization largely made up of dissidents of the Esquerra and of the Estat Catala. This new combination was accepted generally, although it represented no substantial deviation from the aims which the old Comite d'Enllac proposed.

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Next Review Date: 2308

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Third Step: Consell Nacional de la Democracia Catalana (National Council of Catalan Democracy)

The Consell Nacional de la Democracia Catalana was formed of the elements of the Alianza de Partits Republicans, plus the Moviment Socialista de Catalunya, the Front Nacional de Catalunya and the Partit Republica d'Esquerra (the Catalan section of the Izquierda Republicana).

Alianza Nacional de Fuerzas Democraticas of Catalonia

In the autumn of 1945, which was approximately the time of the formation of the Consell Nacional de la Democracia Catalana, the Catalan branch of the Alianza Nacional de Fuerzas Democraticas was constituted, formed by the Partido Socialista Obrero Espanol, the Union General de Trabajadores and a faction of the Partit Obrer d'Unificacio Marxiste which did not belong to the Moviment Socialista de Catalunya.*

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the pro-government Confederacion Nacional del Trabajo not only forms part of the Catalan section of the ANFD, but is its most important component (See SO-2472, distributed on 15 January 1947). It will be noted that, according to the attached Bases for Uniting the ANFD of Catalonia and the Consell, the CNT is given representation on the executive council of the organization to be formed by the merger of the two coalition bodies.

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A T T A C H M E N T

Bases para la Integracion de la Alianza Nacional de Fuerzas Democraticas
en Cataluna y el Consell Nacional de la Democracia Catalana

The Alianza Nacional de Fuerzas Democraticas in Catalonia and the Consell Nacional de la Democracia Catalana, after a full and cordial exchange of opinions, have agreed on the necessity of uniting for the benefit of the defense of Catalan liberties violated by the Franquist tyranny.

In the conversations which have preceded this accord, we have found that no differences exist between the two bodies, and that, on the other hand, we are united by the same aims, by identical democratic sentiments and by the same will to win in the battle for liberty.

We know that the Catalan people cannot free themselves from Franco without the cooperation of the other peoples of Spain. It is equally true, however, that without Catalan cooperation, the fight in the rest of the Peninsula cannot attain its essential end: the destruction of the feudal forces which despotically rule the country and the establishment of a state in which democratic life is possible, in place of the ruin and the poverty which is our lot today.

A common front of all democrats is the weapon necessary to conquer these fascist forces which for ten years have despoiled our land.

Catalonia therefore - as always - is closely united with the democratic forces which since 1936 have fought against the fascism which has arisen to destroy the Republic and the Statute. Our people offer themselves as the vanguard of democracy and social progress, advocating a Third Republic which will mold the State into a federated structure; which will achieve the separation of the executive and the judicial powers - the guarantee of personal liberties; and which will profoundly change the agrarian economy, doing away with the landed estates and giving to all farmers the right to the land, and with it, the freedom that will bring democracy to the whole Peninsula.

In view, therefore, of our common objective, and considering that disunion makes difficult the liberation of Catalonia and of the other Spanish peoples, the ANFD in Catalonia and the CNDC agree to establish themselves in a single united organism which will be the directive force in the fight against fascism.

This organization will be called the "Alianza de la Democracia Catalana."

The following points shall determine the structure of the new organization and its program of action:

Spanish Policy of the Alianza de la Democracia Catalana

- I. The ADC will join the ANFD (of Madrid), in whose national council it will be represented by a direct delegate, with a voice and vote, pledged to accept and to defend the resolutions which this national council may adopt.
- II. As a consequence (of this accord), until the will of the country is consulted, the ANFD will defend, in any pact or political agreement, the autonomy of Catalonia. Likewise, the parties and

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organizations which compose the ANFD pledge themselves to advocate, in the electoral consultation, a Third Republic which shall be federal in structure, separating the executive power from the judicial and establishing a full agrarian democracy throughout Spain.

Political Tactics

- III. The ADC accepts the necessity of a pact with the Spanish rightists leading to the creation of a provisional government which shall organize the popular consultation to determine the regime the country desires. It believes that this solution is the one most likely to secure the recognition and support of the democratic nations, fulfilling the conditions expressed in the Tripartite Note of 4 March 1946 and in the last resolution approved by the UN.
- IV. If the rightists who participate in the establishment of this provisional regime refuse to accept the autonomy of Catalonia and the regional provisional government which must be its expression, the ADC, in agreement with the ANFD, will direct its activity toward the establishment of a de facto situation for which recognition by the Central Provisional Government will continue to be sought.

Bases of the Catalan Regime

- V. Until a new President is named, the ADC will recognize the Honorable Josep Irla as provisional President of Catalonia. While franquism remains undestroyed, the presidential functions inside Catalonia will be exercised through the ADC.
- VI. On the disappearance of the franquist regime, Catalonia will be governed provisionally by the Statute and its complementary laws, with the following modifications:
- A) The Catalan Parliament having become extinct, it will be replaced, in accord with the new correlation of political and social forces existing in Catalonia, by a provisional assembly. This assembly will be composed of representatives of the democratic forces which have fought against franquism. The distribution of representatives will be determined by the numerical importance of the organizations and the ADC will be authorized to determine the composition of the assembly.
 - B) The members of the provisional government of Catalonia will be named by the provisional assembly, on the proposal of the President of Catalonia. The assembly will enact interim laws and in general will assume the powers formerly held by the Parliament of Catalonia.
 - C) During the entire provisional period, the designation of the high officials in Catalonia of the Central Government of Spain must have the prior approval of the Autonomous Catalan Government.
 - D) Once the Third Federal Republic is established, the first elected Parliament of Catalonia will be of a constituent character.

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Interior Structure of the ADC and Its Relations with the Institutional Organization (Generalitat) for the Duration of the Present Situation

- VII. The ADC shall be governed by an executive council and by a plenary organism.
- VIII. The executive council shall be composed of the following representatives: two delegates from the Movimiento Libertario-GNT; two from the Movimiento Socialista-UGT; two from the Catalan leftist parties and one from the popular democrats of Catalonia.
- IX. The plenary organism shall be composed of a delegation from each of the parties accepting these bases.
- X. The ADC and the executive council shall be presided over by a Catalan republican, if possible not affiliated with any party; the sessions of the plenary body shall be presided over by the various delegations in turn.
- XI. The executive council shall be made up of Secretariats. The General Secretariat shall be vested in the GNT-M. bloc.
- XII. The plenary body of the ADC shall decide by a majority vote all those questions regarding which no member of the executive council considers unanimity essential for approval. If unanimity is not attained on any question for which the executive committee deems such unity necessary, the proposal shall be considered rejected.
- XIII. The agreements of the executive council must be unanimous.
- XIV. The ADC, recognizing the presidential institution, believes it essential that the government which is functioning under the President of Catalonia and which represents our people outside Spain, shall be, as are the other governments in exile, the democratic expression of the interior resistance as exemplified by the ADC. Therefore, the ADC would look favorably upon the dissolution of the present government and the establishment of another government which would correspond in representation to the ADC.

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The ADC will fight for the progressive implanting throughout Spain of the following political and social program:

Reparations

- I. Reinstatement in their posts of the officials, military men, professors, etc., expelled because of their liberal views, the new regime granting them the benefits and rights to which they are entitled by reason of years of service.
- II. Impartial but non-violent justice for those persons responsible for the Franco-Falangist revolution and for its direct or indirect collaborationists.
- III. Purging of various groups, including the diplomatic, administrative and police corps and faculties of educational institutions.

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Political Program

- IV. Establishment of a federal government in the country, which would give full freedom to the various peninsular peoples and thus would make for solidarity and true unity among all of them.
- V. Separation of the executive power from the judicial, which separation is the only guarantee of personal liberties.
- VI. Complete reform of the agrarian economy. Free distribution of land to farmers, in certain cases, and development of forms of collective work in others, thereby freeing the country from the feudalism and from the bossism responsible for the political and economic backwardness of Spain.
- VII. Free primary, secondary, higher and technical education for the general populace.
- VIII. Permanent assurance of freedom of expression, association, culture, etc.
- IX. Creation of a democratic army at the service of the Third Republic, purging it of all the leaders hostile to the republican institutions and to the general populace.
- X. Adoption of the principles of the Atlantic Charter and entrance of Spain into the UN.

Social Program

- XI. Nationalization, socialization or municipalization, according to circumstances, of those services or enterprises which may be considered public: large marine or air transport companies, railways, urban transportation, communications, radio broadcasting, etc.
- XII. Nationalization of banks, of insurance companies, and of all those entities and properties which have been subjected to spoliation through political immoralities and common crimes, especially through the exploitation of the falangist regime.
- XIII. Creation of universal compulsory social insurance against invalidism, sickness, old age, forced lockouts, accidents, large families, etc. The Insurance Administration shall be managed by the State, with the direct participation of one workers' representation.
- XIV. Creation by the State, with employer and worker representation, of labor exchanges. These labor exchanges, which shall be set up in all the cities and towns of Spain, shall be the sole authorities for the distribution of labor.
- XV. Setting of a minimum living wage for laborers, farm workers and office workers. This minimum wage shall be fixed in accordance with the fluctuation of prices, whose cycles shall be determined by an economic council composed of State, employer and worker representation.
- XVI. Worker and farm laborer participation in the conduct of production, transportation and consumer enterprises.
- XVII. Participation of the workers in the profits of enterprises.

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- XVIII. Creation of a National Fund of Compensation and Reconstruction. This fund shall administer the profits of the socialized enterprises or services and the yield on properties expropriated for political reasons. Likewise, it shall take care to give financial aid to nationalized industries in need of assistance and it shall finance, by means of an Agricultural Credit Service, the small landed proprietors and the collective farms. To as great a degree as possible, this Fund shall serve to compensate financially for losses suffered by those persons deprived of their property or persecuted for defending the Republic, and shall sponsor the creation of new industries, etc. The National Compensation and Reconstruction Fund shall be governed by an administrative council composed of worker and employer representatives under the direction of the State.
- XIX. Development of the national resources, accelerated reforestation, rural electrification and hydraulic development, creation of new communication highways, maritime and other transportation, increase of industrial and agricultural output, etc.
- XX. Immediately, and as a first step, the adoption of an energetic policy of deflation and of accelerated production, until we approach the price and wage levels existing in 1936.

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